

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

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R 061150Z AUG 75

FM AMEMBASSY LISBON

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 3668

INFO AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY MADRID

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM

USMISSION NATO

DIA WASHDC

USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN GER

C O N F I D E N T I A L LISBON 4450

E.O. 11652: XGDS-4

TAGS: PINT, PO

SUBJ: RAMIRO CORREIA SEEKS US SUPPORT

SUMMARY: IN LONG CONVERSATION WITH EMBASSY OFFICER AUGUST 4, CAPTAIN RAMIRO CORREIA, REVOLUTIONARY COUNCIL MEMBER AND HEAD OF COMMUNIST-LINING J-5 (PROPAGANDA AND CULTURAL DYNAMIZATION), LAMENTED NEGATIVE EFFECTS OF "BOYCOTT" BY WESTERN EUROPEANS. CORREIA SAID SOME "SIGNAL" BY U.S. OF ITS CONTINUED SUPPORT FOR PORTUGUESE REVOLUTION WOULD BE EXTREMELY USEFUL. IF WOULD HELP CREATE CONDITIONS FOR "HISTORIC AGREEMENT" BETWEEN AFM AND POLITICAL PARTIES WHICH WOULD ENSURE PLURALISTIC PATH TO SOCIALISM. UNUSUAL INITIATIVE SUGGESTS THAT FIRM POSITION TAKEN BY WESTERN EUROPEANS HAS HAD STRONG IMPACT ON AFM AND THE COMMUNISTS AND THEIR FRIENDS ARE INCREASINGLY NERVOUS RE THEIR PROSPECTS IN FLUID POLITICAL SITUATION. END SUMMARY.

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1. NEITHER MOSCOW NOR WASHINGTON: CORREIA COMPLAINED BITTERLY

ABOUT WHAT HE CALLED A "BOYCOTT" AGAINST PORTUGAL BY WESTERN EUROPEANS. CONTINUED WITHHOLDING OF SUPPORT AND ASSISTANCE BY THEM WOULD HAVE SERIOUS CONSEQUENCES FOR PACE AND DIRECTION OF REVOLUTION. WHAT AFM SOUGHT WAS NOT COMMUNISM OR REPLACEMENT OF TRADITIONAL WESTERN DOMINANCE BY DOMINATION FROM EAST. AFM SOUGHT "NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE" WHICH COULD ONLY BE ACHIEVED BY STRIKING A BALANCE BETWEEN THE TWO GREAT POWER CENTERS. AFM WANTED TO MAINTAIN STRONG TIES WITH US AND THE WEST BUT IT WAS ALSO NECESSARY TO OPEN NEW LINKS WITH THE EAST.

2. RELATIONS WITH PARTIES: CORREIA SAID AFM LEADERS RECOGNIZED THEY WOULD HAVE TO COME TO TERMS WITH MAJOR POLITICAL PARTIES TO ENSURE CONTINUED FORWARD PROGRESS OF REVOLUTION. HE ACKNOWLEDGED THAT PRESIDENT COSTA GOMES HAD BEEN CLOSE TO THE MARK WHEN HE TOLD RECENT AFM ASSEMBLY THAT THE REVOLUTION HAD OUTRUN ITS BASE OF SUPPORT. BUT EVENTS DURING THE PAST FEW WEEKS--INCLUDING INCREASED STRIDENCY ON PART OF PARTIES--HAD MADE ANY COMPROMISE BETWEEN AFM AND PARTIES ALMOST IMPOSSIBLE.

3. SIGNAL FROM US: IN THESE CIRCUMSTANCES, A "SIGNAL" FROM THE U.S. OF CONTINUED SUPPORT FOR THE REVOLUTION WOULD BE EXTREMELY HELPFUL. IT WOULD CREATE THE CONDITIONS NECESSARY FOR RENEWED DISCUSSIONS WITH THE POLITICAL PARTIES LOOKING TOWARD AN "HISTORIC AGREEMENT" TO ADVANCE THE REVOLUTIONARY PROCESS ON THE BASIS OF A PLURALISTIC PATH TO SOCIALISM.

4. EMBASSY OFFICER RESPONDED (A) THAT USG HAD ALREADY DEMONSTRATED ITS SUPPORT FOR REVOLUTION AND PLURALISTIC PATH TO SOCIALISM; (B) THAT I WAS UNREALISTIC TO EXPECT USG TO TAKE ANY ACTION WHICH MIGHT UNDERMINE POSITION OF MODERATE POLITICAL PARTIES, AND (C) THAT IT WAS UNREASONABLE TO EXPECT EITHER U.S. OR WESTERN EUROPEANS TO PROVIDE ANY "SIGNALS" OF CONTINUED SUPPORT ABSENT CONVINCING EVIDENCE FROM THOSE NOW IN CHARGE THAT THEY WERE COMMITTED TO PLURALISTIC PATH WHICH THEY SO FREQUENTLY SPOKE OF WHILE MOVING THE REVOLUTION FARTHER AND FARTHER TO THE LEFT.

5. CONVERSATION, WHICH COVERED VARIETY OF OTHER TOPICS, CONCLUDED ON NON-CONTROVERSIAL NOTE WITH CORREIA ACKNOWLEDGING USEFULNESS OF FRANK CONVERSATION EVEN IF IT DID NOT ALWAYS PRODUCE CONFIDENTIAL

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COMPLETE AGREEMENT. MEMCON FOLLOWS.

6. COMMENT: CORREIA WAS CORDIAL AND FRIENDLY THROUGHOUT TWO-HOUR CONVERSATION. HIS SURPRISING SUGGESTION OF QUID PRO QUO ARRANGEMENT INVOLVING AFM EFFORT TO REACH AGREEMENT WITH MODERATE PARTIES IN EXCHANGE FOR IMMEDIATE U.S. SIGNAL OF SUPPORT FOR REVOLUTION SUGGESTS SEVERAL CONCLUSIONS.
--FIRM POSITION ON AID TAKEN BY WESTERN EUROPEANS HAS HAD

STRONG IMPACT WITHIN RANKS OF AFM LEADERSHIP.

--COMMUNISTS AND THEIR SUPPORTERS WITHIN AFM ARE INCREASINGLY NERVOUS RE THEIR PROSPECTS AS PRESSURES AND PROBLEMS CONTINUE TO MOUNT.

-- A U.S. STATEMENT OF SUPPORT AT THIS POINT WOULD UNDERCUT THE POSITION OF THE MODERATE PARTIES AS WELL AS THE MODERATES WITHIN AFM; BOTH RELY HEAVILY UPON OUTSIDE, PARTICULARLY EUROPEAN, SUPPORT. CORREIA AND HIS FRIENDS WOULD LIKE NOTHING BETTER.

7. WE INTENT TO KEEP THIS CHANNEL OF COMMUNICATION OPEN.
CARLUCCI

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